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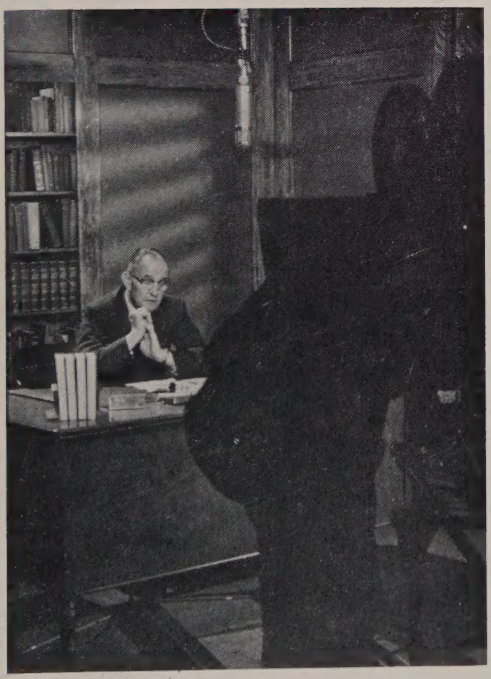

MARTIN NIEMOELLER

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Where Are We Now?

by A. J. Muste

contents

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1956-57

- **The World in Focus** 1
- **Dismissal of Brutus**—Newton Garver 5
  A penetrating analysis of the noble Brutus and the meaning his dilemma holds for us today
- **Martin Niemoeller Makes A Movie**—Alfred Hassler 9
  Visit the set of the first film on Niemoeller, with the editor as your guide
- **Where Are We Now?** A. J. Muste 12
  A not too pleasing picture, this world we live in. A. J. dissects the hope for peace and comes up with some unsentimental conclusions
- **Report From Dixie**—Robert Cannon 21
  Here's the "cotton" curtain. You'll meet a few Ku Klux Klanners, some other interesting people.
- **One Soldier to Another** 24
  The crack of a gun-barrel on a lonely Israeli frontier spins a soldier's thoughts into a tangent of "why?"
- **News** 27
- **Letters** 30
- COVER PHOTO—Martin Niemoeller before the cameras, See p. 9

FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Old Year—New Year

Strive though he may, it is a rare editorialist who can work his way through his allotted space in the first issue of a new year without some prognostications concerning what is likely to be written on the 366 bright new pages lying ahead. Sinful and weak as this department's principal scribe is, we would not even attempt such heroic originality were it not for the fact that A. J. Muste has already handled the chore so admirably elsewhere in this issue. For these paragraphs, therefore, we confine our attention to a few interesting occurrences in the last days of the late lamented 1955 that might otherwise escape your notice.

Duel. Late in November the news got out of the duel between the Nike and the Matador that took place at White Sands, New Mexico, a month before.

The Nike, as you probably know, is the Army's current number one weapon for defending American cities against air attack with nuclear weapons. It is a guided missile, reportedly capable of a 1600-mph speed over a 25-mile range, through which it supposedly "tracks" and destroys its enemy. Principal American cities are being ringed with Nike launching sites designed to make them impregnable.

The Matador is a 600-mph guided-missile bomber developed by the Air Force.

In October, to demonstrate their effectiveness, the Air Force launched some Matadors and the Army sent some Nikes up to track and destroy them. Neither force has re-

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ported officially on the results, but unofficial published reports tell the following story:

The first Nike missed its prey cleanly.

The second Nike got mixed up and chased the first Nike instead of the Matador. It caught the first Nike and destroyed it, by which time the Matador had gotten the heck out of there.

On the next test, the Matador failed to attain either its maximum height or its maximum speed, and the Nike succeeded in shooting it down.

All very reassuring.

Remonstrance. Author Lewis Mumford, who created quite a sensation in 1954 with an all-out attack on war published in the *New York Times,* returned to the attack in the last days of 1955. In the November 27 *Times* Mumford, referring to a proposal to demonstrate a thermonuclear bomb to the rulers of the world, declared that it was false to suppose that a "physical shock would produce the moral awakening that is needed." What is needed, rather, he continued, is "the willingness to face the moral consequences" of the "mass extermination" for which we prepare.

"The preparation for such extermination," wrote Mr. Mumford, "not merely poisons international intercourse but paralyzes morality. Not least, it flouts . . . the decent opinions of mankind. In allowing our political and military authorities to prepare such irrational weapons, even in defense, we have surrendered in advance our dearest traditions and any cause that would be worth fighting for; indeed, we have abdicated our very humanity."

Bulwark. The West's bulwarks against communism were further strengthened by the formation on November 12 of the nucleus of the new West German Army. The nucleus, consisting of 101 men, is headed by Lieut. Gens. Adolf Heusinger and Hans Spiedel, who were major generals in another army against which we were creating bulwarks fifteen years ago. Interestingly enough, of the 172,000 applicants for enlistment in the new army, only 18 percent were youths and non-veterans.

Improbable. Another serious blow was dealt the concept of "limited nuclear war,"[1] the present darling of the strategists, by the Army-Air Force Exercise Sage Brush, held in Louisiana in November. "Limited" war, according to this notion, would be war fought on the basis of the realization by both sides that resort to "strategic" nuclear weapons (hydrogen bombs) would mean destruction for both. The contestants would, therefore, voluntarily limit themselves to "tactical" nuclear weapons (atomic bombs in the megaton range).

Exercise Sage Brush involved 140,000 Army and Air Force personnel, 1200 aircraft, 2000 armored vehicles, and 275 "tactical" atomic weapons, of which 59 were used by the "enemy."

Even with this limited exercise, writes military expert Hanson Baldwin,[2] "if Sage Brush had been actual instead of simulated it is safe to say that much of the twelve-state area would have been devastated. Cities would have been partially destroyed and their surviving inhabitants menaced by radioactivity." And all this while both sides were concentrating only on military targets with "limited" weapons!

Baldwin added that if the "enemy's" 59 bombs had been real, "it seems doubtful . . . that an organized Army would have continued to exist."

The choice remains what it has been since August 6, 1945: total war or no war!

Loyalty

At a recent meeting of the Protestant Synod of Berlin-Brandenburg (in East Germany) Bishop Otto Dibelius pointed out that, in spite of "Geneva" and some easing of the pressure on churches and church people in Russia and other Communist countries, efforts to pressure East German youth into leaving the church and abandoning their faith went on steadily and relentlessly. One method employed for this purpose is the so-called "dedication of youth," a Communist-inspired ceremony in which young people swear

1 See "Where Are We Now?" by A. J. Muste, in this issue.
2 *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1955.

allegiance to the State, and which is intended to replace confirmation in church.

Because of previous protests against this form of indoctrination and coercion of conscience, the Communist authorities spread the word that the dedication ceremony was "a private affair" and therefore, presumably, not compulsory. Nevertheless, Bishop Dibelius publicly stated, "all the mass organizations and the machinery of the State" went into action threatening children that if they did not go to the "dedication" they would not be able to get into secondary schools, their parents would lose their jobs, and so on.

Church youth who left Free German Youth (the Communist youth movement) because of the atheistic propaganda carried on in its ranks were similarly threatened. The Synod vigorously objected to this psychological warfare against church youth, even if the threats were not actually carried out. It was estimated, by the way, that the Synod would lose 20,000 members this year "as a result of the strong propaganda urging people to leave the Church."

The cheering aspect of the business is that Bishop Dibelius, who is far from being a radical or reckless, and the other leaders of the Evangelical Church in East Germany, evidently are not in the least intimidated by the attacks, and show no disposition to yield to government pressure or to soften their opposition. They declare that they will gladly cooperate with the government if it behaves but they will "not conceal the concerns for which we stand as Protestants." They charge the German Democratic Republic with "building up a view of life which is opposed to that of the Christian Church." They ruled that "the dedication of youth and confirmation are not compatible with one another." In other words, church youth must choose between supreme allegiance to Caesar and supreme allegiance to Christ.

Too seldom, in our own country and in others, in Communist and non-Communist lands, do we encounter so clear a witness against loyalty oaths and all the manifold devices that modern states employ to subject the spirit of the citizens to their control. May there be many instances in the new year of the clarity and courage displayed by our friends in Germany.

Dismissal of Brutus

by Newton Garver

EARLY last summer the British Council (the English equivalent of the United States Information Service) joined forces with the Arab Legion to put on a production of *Julius Caesar* in the midst of the Roman and Crusader ruins at Jarash, in what is now the kingdom of Jordan. I was unable to attend but I spoke with one of the other Americans from Beirut when he returned from the show.

Production-wise the show was a great success. He had high praise for the decor and the lighting and for the wildly enthusiastic Arabs who played the part of the Roman mob. The novel spectacle of Antony rousing the passions of a large crowd of Bedouins under a starlit sky and a real moon could not help leaving a strong impression. Apart from these unconventional features, however, there was little to please him in the performance.

"More than anything else," he said, "the trip to Jarash just went to prove what a poor play *Julius Caesar* is. There is nothing in it that can hold the attention of a modern mind under the most favorable circumstances."

It was this categorical judgment against Shakespeare—quite at odds with my own—that interested me most in his remarks. I asked him more about it. Didn't he find that the tragedy of Brutus, the tragedy of a man who realized that both conscience and politics were necessary but found them incompatible, achieved nobility and depth?

No, he said: Brutus was not a believable character. He was sim-

ply an intellectual creation, divorced from real human problems. There were only two characters in the play with a modern ring about them—Caesar, who died before the play really got started, and Cassius. Cassius, he felt, was the real hero of the play, and it was the tragedy of his failure through his collaboration with Brutus which has the greatest significance for modern man; but the character of Cassius is not enough to carry the whole play.

Nobility and Tragedy

At first I took these remarks to be a silly misinterpretation of the play. Brutus, after all, is the one whose own nobility brings about his downfall. Cassius is clever, but not noble enough to make his downfall seem truly tragic; he dies a pitiful death, "not with a bang but a whimper."

Brutus, too, is the one who recognizes the moral necessity for his own death—not just because he was beaten, but as an expiation for his having killed Caesar: "Caesar, now be still. I killed not thee with half so good a will." The death of Cassius, on the other hand, fails to inspire us because it is useless: he commits suicide only because he believes (mistakenly) that the battle has been completely lost. These differences are a sure indication that the character of Cassius has been created largely as a contrast to set off the nobility and tragedy of Brutus.

The dismissal of Brutus, however, has more than a literary significance. I remember that there was a time when, as a pacifist, I rejected Brutus as impossible, too, but from a different point of view. I thought that it was impossible that a conscientious person should decide upon assassination as a means to a better world. On the contrary, it seemed to be only a lack of conscience which could fail to feel the evil of such a murder and to see that it carried with it the seeds of its own destruction, the loss of the desired reform. This pacifist dismissal of Brutus is what we might call saintly, in that it means a withdrawal from the arena of human affairs. I realize now that it is indicative of a narrow pacifism insufficient to speak to the practical problems that surround men.

An Amoral Man

The dismissal of Brutus in favor of Cassius is an entirely different matter. Far from a saint, Cassius is the prototype of the amoral man. He never considers whether or not he is right or justified in killing Caesar; instead the whole power of his intellect is bent upon organizing the conspiracy by hook or by crook. Even he recognizes the nobility of Brutus, but explicitly rejects it and sets about to undermine it: "Well, Brutus, thou art noble. And yet, I see, / Thy honorable metal may be wrought / From that it is disposed." Cassius represents the crusader or schemer who sets out with all his energy and ingenuity along a determined course, never hesitating to ask whether the course is right or wrong. To say that this is the only modern character in *Julius Caesar* is to say that man no longer has a conscience.

Neither of these dismissals of Brutus is satisfactory. To maintain the first you must be the sort of

person to whom the temptations of Christ would not have been temptations at all—that is, scarcely human. To maintain the second you must also be scarcely human: the sort of person who has no friends, no conscience, no personal commitments to reconcile with his ambitions. In between these inhuman extremes there remains the dilemma of Brutus. It is one of the most compelling and persistent dilemmas facing man, and man can reach his greatest heights by striving to come to terms with it.

Of course it is easy to prove that Brutus is wrong—muddle-headed from either point of view. On the one hand it is true that when a job is laid out, a dictator can do it more rapidly than a democracy, a machine more accurately than a man, Machiavelli's prince more remorselessly than a conscientious Shakespearean hero. Brutus, therefore, will always be less effective than Cassius in the field of practical politics.

Actions Without Morals

On the other hand, it is equally true that morals become tinged with imperfections whenever principles are expressed in action, whenever ideals attempt to become concrete, just as mathematical laws lose their character of final completeness in experience. Politics, therefore, is bound to corrupt morals, and Brutus' effort as a moral man was also doomed to failure by its very nature. But bungled politics and tarnished morals notwithstanding, the problem of Brutus remains with us, for there is a more central fact which these refutations overlook: Actions without morals are mere ejaculations, and morals apart from actions are empty formulae.

Facing the Dilemma

In between the philosophy of ineffectual goodness and the philosophy of blind success there is very little alternative to be found in the tragic dilemma of Brutus in our Western civilization. That is why Brutus is, to most of us, such a powerful tragic hero. What is called for is some sort of Third Way that will not reject Brutus in either the manner of the saint or the manner of Cassius, but that will somehow transcend the dilemma. Within the traditional framework of Western culture, however, it is as impossible to transcend this dilemma as it is to avoid facing it. In this framework the greatest nobility and glory do not come from solving the problem, but from simply tackling it boldly, in the manner of Brutus.

A kind of solution appears in the East, where Brutus is not so much dismissed as ignored. I cannot help wondering if perhaps this figure, and even more than that of Cassius, might lack appeal in India today. After all, the two greatest figures in modern India, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, have transcended this dilemma: they have led exemplary moral lives, and they have achieved far-reaching social reforms while remaining personally aloof from politics and political formations. They have united the realms of politics and morals by using Truth as a political agent (Satyagraha), and through it they have achieved a Third Way.

If this last speculation is correct it may have some long-range effects. To the extent that the dilemma of Brutus is a crucial one—and

it becomes more and more so as the impossibility of power struggle in the neighborhood of atomic combustibles (the impossibility of Cassius) becomes clearer—the Western failure to transcend or resolve the dilemma will cost us our world leadership. More and more we shall see that the center of civilization will move toward those who can get around this dilemma.

We are now witnessing the beginnings of the next great human step forward, centering around the cessation of war, and the clearest duty of those of us in the West who have felt the tragedy of Brutus is to try to work out his dilemma through applications of the Third Way in our own environment.

The Labor of Thought

Heretics have been hateful from the beginning of recorded time; they have been ostracized, exiled, tortured, maimed and butchered; but it has generally proved impossible to smother them, and when it has not, the society that has succeeded has always declined. Facades of authority, however imposing, do not survive after it has appeared that they rest upon the sands of human conjecture and compromise.

And so, if I am to say what are "the principles of civil liberties and human rights," I answer that they lie in habits, customs—conventions, if you will—that tolerate dissent and can live without irrefragable certainties; that are ready to overhaul existing assumptions; that recognize that we never see save through a glass, darkly, and that at long last we shall succeed only so far as we continue to undertake "the intolerable labor of thought"—that most distasteful of all activities.

Judge Learned Hand
in a speech before the American Jewish Committee (used by permission)

Martin NIEMOELLER Makes a Movie

by Alfred Hassler

PASTOR MARTIN NIEMOELLER probably is pacifism's most illustrious convert since a young Indian lawyer named Mohandas K. Gandhi adopted a faith in nonviolence and love soon after the turn of the century. Niemoeller, administrative director of a group of 1200 German churches, World War I U-boat commander, and the near-legendary focus of opposition to Hitler before and during World War II, joined the FOR in the spring of 1954 after a dramatic conference with his country's three leading nuclear physicists.[1]

This being the case, it was not surprising that someone should get the idea of making a 15-minute motion-picture of him when he visited the United States in the fall of 1955. His trip would last only a month, not nearly enough time for even a fraction of those who would like to see and hear him. Moreover, the FOR's previous venture in filmmaking had been a marked success.[2] The Fellowship and the Robert Treat Paine Foundation, cosponsors of his trip, agreed to cosponsor a film as well.

Some 150 miles from New York

[1] See *The Way of Peace*, by Martin Niemoeller.

[2] *Not by Might*, a 15-minute film with A. J. Muste.

we located a studio specializing in religious films, and consequently psychologically prepared to think in terms of an FOR budget. Preparations were made for the filming on November 11th, two days after the German pastor's arrival at Idlewild Airport.

Little Time

Because he was scheduled to speak in New York City the same evening, a maximum of three hours was allotted for the whole job, not an over-generous block of time. At the end of those hours, I had a livelier sympathy for the wretches who toil in Hollywood's floodlit galleys.

Pastor Niemoeller, who had boarded the plane in Germany almost from the steps of the train on which he had returned from another speaking trip, had not prepared a script until the night before. The day began, therefore, with a "dry run"—reading the script without camera. The script was excellent—but 3 minutes and 40 seconds too long. Time out for cutting.

Actual shooting began a little before ten—and stopped three minutes later. The young man handling the microphone, suspended on a long boom just out of camera range, was a German Lutheran. The excitement of having Martin Niemoeller in front of him unnerved him; when Niemoeller, having delivered the first paragraph standing, sat down, the microphone followed him too precipitately and popped right into the picture. The director yelled "Cut!", the crew prepared a new plate, the sound engineer took a new level, and everything began again.

This time things ran well. The text was powerful, one could see in the German pastor's delivery the deep earnestness that had made him so strong a force in his own country.

Then, in the control room, we became conscious of a sound that should not have been there. It was a rhythmic tick, like that of a watch. Could the mike be picking up the sound of the watch lying on the desk in front of the speaker? A whispered consultation with the cameraman, by phone, elicited the news that a belt on the inside of his $5000 mechanism was squeaking. The sound engineer fiddled with his dials; after a while the sound went away, but the memory lingered on.

Three minutes to go.

Two minutes.

One.

There was a muttered exclamation in the control room. A fly, unimpressed by the insecticide that had been sprayed around, had come over to investigate the brightly lighted Niemoeller features.

Pastor Niemoeller passed a hand over his face, casually, and the fly stood off a few feet for observations. Seeing nothing alarming, he came back. The speaker brushed again and the fly retreated once more.

But this was a fly of sturdy character. The half-hearted brush-offs convinced it that it had nothing to fear. It zoomed in for a perfect landing on Niemoeller's right eyebrow.

Torn between a desire to get rid of the fly and the fear of looking more like a windmill than a preacher, Pastor Niemoeller talked bravely on.

The fly, rubbing its feet in satis-

faction, decided on a short exploration. It strolled across the eyebrow to the bridge of the nose, turned right, and proceeded slowly and deliberately down to the tip, where it leered happily into the lens. . . .

THE FILM had turned out too long again, by a little. In view of this and the noisy belt in the camera, we decided to shoot the whole thing once more instead of simply reshooting the fly-blown episode. Shooting began at 11.

At 11:14, with one minute to go, everything was fine. No noise, no fly.

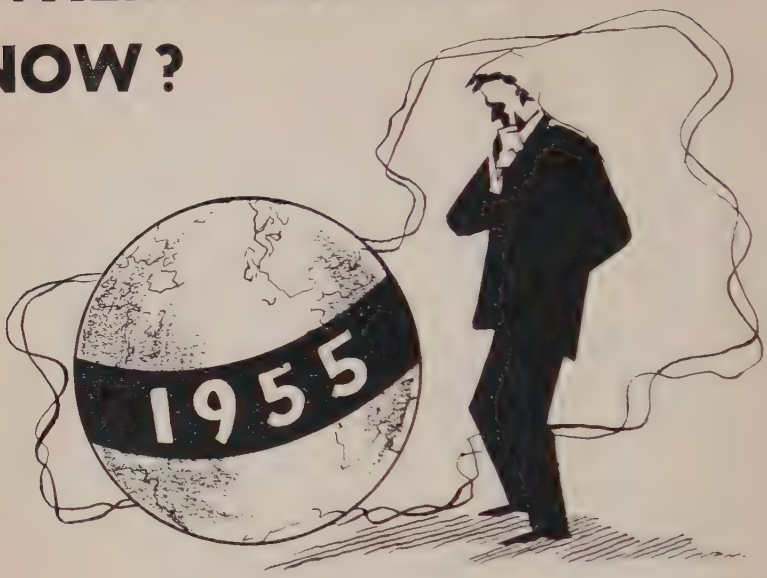
At 11:14:30, with one-half minute to go, the camera ran out of film. . . .

When we finally finished, it was 12:15. We piled into the car to drive back to New York, and our movie star began preparation of his speech for the evening. . . .

AT THE STUDIO, they packed up the film, along with the magnetic sound track and some other already developed negative, and sent it off to the laboratory in Philadelphia, for processing. There, where they handle thousands of feet of film daily, a darkroom man dreaming of the South Seas dumped 600 feet of our film, 200 feet of developed and spliced negative, and 600 feet of magnetic tape into one vat of chemicals, effectively ruining all of them. The footage destroyed was, of course, the second shooting. *P.S.—As this is written, we are getting a concentrated lesson in editing and fly-removal. The film will be ready next month, and it will be good. Watch for it.*

A. J. Muste, star of "Not By Might," checks film techniques with Pastor Niemoeller before shooting.

WHERE ARE WE NOW?



by A. J. Muste

As 1955 drew to a close, most commentators seemed to agree that it would be a mistake to feel let down by the evaporation of the "spirit of Geneva." The "spirit of Geneva," they insist, never meant but one thing: a tacit agreement between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union that for the time being nuclear war should be unthinkable. This agreement is still in force, and provides us with a kind of breathing-spell.

In this article I want to consider what the "spirit of Geneva" does and does not mean now, whatever it meant last summer. For convenience, I have divided this roughly between military and political developments. If the November meetings of the foreign ministers in Geneva proved nothing else, they demonstrated dramatically how inextricably tied together are such matters as disarmament and "security" on the one hand, and the political and ideological questions that divide nations on the other.

The Military Picture

In the first place, then, there has been no slowing down in scientific and technical endeavors to "perfect" atomic and biological weapons and to invent new instruments of mass destruction such as the intercontinental bal-

listics missile. None of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is abandoning or curtailing experimental blasts. Toward the end of the year, as radioactive fallout in Japan attested, Russia exploded a thermonuclear bomb, the biggest in its series. The Atomic Energy Commission in the United States let it be known that it was preparing for big doings in the Pacific in the spring.

Disarmament talk continued. A single report of the Disarmament Commission to the UN weighed twelve pounds, causing one delegate to complain that, leaving aside the question of finding time to study it, he could hardly lift it.

"Phony" Proposals

Molotov at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva in November was quite correct in charging that President Eisenhower's widely publicized proposal for aerial reconnaissance was, in effect, a move to put off doing anything about disarmament at this time.

The proposal is admittedly based on the conviction that atomic supplies and weapons in both the dominant countries are now so varied and plentiful that inspection, in the absence of a will to disarm, could not prevent concealment. The Russian proposal is also a "phony," with disarmament and the scrapping of atomic weapons taking place at once and the question of inspection deferred to some convenient time later, and with no real breach in the Iron Curtain permitted. So the American formula of "inspection and then disarmament," like the Russian formula of "disarmament and then inspection," is the screen behind which the power struggle and the arms race both continue.

Limited War

Since for the time being nuclear war has to be ruled out as too risky, the strategists and tacticians on both sides are studying and experimenting with alternative "limited" war ideas. Militarily, the Communist bloc has a considerable advantage here both in its preponderance of manpower and in its ability to organize and arm subversive movements in "uncommitted" and "neutral" lands. (Political penetration plays a major part here, of course, but for the moment I am discussing the military aspect alone, which should not be exaggerated but should not be lost sight of, either.)

Consider now the situation of the United States, which until recently counted on "massive retaliation" with atomic weapons to "deter" Russia. The value of this policy was depreciated when, in Korea and later at Dienbienphu, the Administration decided not to use atomic weapons. Deterrence has something of the character of bluff, and when it begins to look as though it were indeed *only* a bluff, it boomerangs. Hence the change of posture reflected in

Eisenhower's statements and conduct at Geneva. At about the same time the Russians came to realize, as one of the American diplomats is said to have put it, that there is no such thing as "a class-conscious hydrogen bomb," and that nuclear war threatens ruin not for capitalist countries alone. This spells "mutual deterrence"—"balance of terror"—alias the "spirit of Geneva."

"Tactical" Weapons

Since war itself has not been renounced, however, the military advantage the Communist bloc enjoys through sheer weight of numbers must be offset. With atomic and possibly biological weapons the only offsetting factor for the West, we find here the explanation for the ardent experimentation with *tactical* atomic weapons by United States forces. These weapons, it is assumed, would make limited war possible and at least a rough differentiation between military and civilian targets. They would, therefore, not be suicidal as would the strategic nuclear obliteration weapons. An informative recent article reports that certain British and American military theoreticians call this "graduated deterrence" or "measured retaliation."[1]

This is an attempt to satisfy the hankering for the simple wars fought according to "civilized" rules which, it is held, characterized the past of the Christian nations. Will it deliver us from the horror of total nuclear war? The reasons for thinking it will not are formidable.

To begin with, nothing is going to prevent Russia from also piling up "tactical" atomic weapons. Suppose a war starts and the tactical weapons are used—suppose there is even an "agreement" not to use the big strategic bomb—and that, after vast sacrifices have been made for supposedly major objectives, one side is threatened with a bad defeat. Is it reasonable to think that in such an atmosphere, with huge stockpiles of "ultimate" weapons in reserve, military and political leaders will forget that they are there or say: "They exist only to deter us from ever using them"?

Moreover, as Mr. Buchan himself points out, it is difficult to differentiate between tactical and strategic weapons, military and civilian targets. It might be fairly easy in such geographically large countries as the United States or Russia, but what about England or Belgium? And "how can one distinguish between civil and military targets for cities like Portsmouth or San Diego that are centers of population and also great naval ports?" There are, naturally, places in Russia and China that present a similar problem.

For the time being, the spectre of nuclear war may keep both Russia and the United States from attacking points the other regards as essential for its "survival." But this means that for each there are

[1] Alastair Buchan, in *The Reporter*, December 1, 1955.

points "essential to survival" for which, paradoxically, it will risk survival.

Mutual Stranglehold

This means that the United States—and Russia in certain comparable situations—will run into the same dilemma again that it faced in Korea and Indo-China. Suppose Russia wants to remove Denmark from the path of its rapidly growing submarine force in the Baltic Sea? Will the United States risk atomic war to stop it? If not, what becomes of NATO, as Belgians, Frenchmen and Englishmen reflect, as Denis Healey, the British MP, once suggested, that Americans might "prefer to see Europe occupied by the Red Army rather than themselves risk thermonuclear annihilation"? If, on the other hand, the United States decides that the threat of Russian sea power breaking into the North Sea and thence into the Atlantic constitutes the "showdown," who or what will set limits to the struggle?

"Balance of terror," we must conclude — the acknowledgment by the great powers of "a stranglehold on each other's throats"—is not a guarantee of safety and peace.

The Political Struggle

One result of these dilemmas is that to a great extent the struggle between East and West has been transferred to the political and economic plane. Here also, the Communists have made great strides, and the West, by the admission of most of its own spokesmen, is on the defensive.

Dividing lines in Germany, Korea, and Indo-China demonstrate that the struggle to fill the power vacuum created by the defeat of Germany and Japan respectively has ended for the present in stalemate. During the ten years that have elapsed the countries of Eastern Europe and China were drawn into the Communist orbit and Russian influence is considerable along the boundaries of these regions.

Containing Russia

The flare-ups in Egypt, North Africa, and the Middle East that have occupied recent headlines mark the effort of the United States, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, to move into the power vacuum created by the defeat suffered in World War II by the "victor" nations, Great Britain and France. They, once the command powers in this vast area, are having to retreat. Again, it turns out that the effort to "contain" Russia and Communism is largely futile.

Some writers ascribe this to the plain, unfathomable stupidity of American policy makers, and there is something to be said for this explanation. When, for example, at about the time that Czechoslovakia makes an arms deal with Egypt and Bulganin and Krushchev set out to spend several weeks in India and Burma, American policy-makers propose to cut a billion or so from

United States technical and economic aid to various countries, the temptation to mark it down as stupidity is great. But when we observe that such decisions are made by people who are otherwise extremely astute and intelligent, personal blundering becomes a less satisfactory explanation. It is necessary to look at the system, the social regime, of which they are the agents and within which they function.

What, then, are the elements inherent in the situation, so to speak, which are responsible for the inability of "democracy" to keep people from going over into the Communist camp? From one point of view, the matter is, of course, highly complicated, with details varying from country to country. Nevertheless, the basic factors are of an elemental nature and can be stated simply.

No Jobs for Capitalists

The needs of the multitudes of people occupying most of Asia, and virtually all of Africa and South America, cannot be met on the basis of the political and economic set-up under which they have been living. They can be met only by means of "revolutionary" political and economic changes. They will regard as friends those who help them carry on their revolutions and as enemies those who hinder them in or are indifferent to their revolutionary activities.

Unhappily, barring something like revolutionary changes in the United States itself, this country is essentially unable to play the role of a friend to the peoples involved in the revolutions of our time. These revolutions require, for one thing, that the present backward, feudal, pre-industrial economies of these countries be replaced. But the present free-enterprise or capitalist economy in its present form cannot and does not want to do this job. Capitalists want to do business in the capitalist way.

Gold-Plated Welfare State

Consider a recent report of what this means to Saudi Arabia, one of the countries in the oil-soaked Middle East over the allegiance of which East and West are contending today. An oil combine called Aramco operates there. In the combine are Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Texas Company and Socony Vacuum. A recent writer[2] describes what Aramco is doing in connection with a very profitable oil business as operating a "gold-plated welfare state" for King Ibn Saud and his numerous relatives.

Twenty years ago the late King had an income of half a million dollars. Today the present king gets $260 million annually! There are more than 300 male members of the king's family on the "civil list." An emir who has any kind of job gets $360,000 a year plus the upkeep of his residence, cars, and servants, with extra allow-

[2] *The Reporter*, Dec. 1, 1955.

ances if he goes abroad. An unemployed emir has to struggle along on an allowance of $36,000 "plus upkeep costs and travelling expenses."

Moreover, since Saudi Arabia is supposed to be in the Western orbit, part of our "bulwark against Communism," its army was somehow provided with $30 million last year and will get $80 million this year.

Now Aramco is an "enlightened" capitalist combine, so it pays also for most of the public services for the country's four or five million inhabitants. But here the figures become much more modest: about $5 million a year for agriculture and a similar amount for other kinds of development, with the result that ninety percent of the inhabitants "are still unaffected by the oil bonanza."

There was a time, not so very long ago, when the ninety percent would have endured this stolidly. Today, and certainly tomorrow, they will not! Such a system, and such a king, will be done away with. Now who will help the ninety percent do the job of demolition and the building anew?

AN FOR FAMILY FOR OHIO—The Rev. and Mrs. Johannes Wessel and their nine children are all smiles as they pose for their first picture taken on American soil before departing for their new home in Akron. Members of the FOR, the Wessels are the largest single family to enter this country under the Refugee Relief Act. Between 1928 and 1932, Reverend Wessel was arrested by Soviet authorities twenty times for Baptist evangelistic activities.
(N.Y. Herald Tribune photo)

Not Aramco, obviously, and not the United States. Not the labor movements or Socialist parties of the West either, except in token fashion, because they are too closely tied to a system of which Aramco and the U.S. Military Establishment are essential parts! The Communists will come along and pick up a few bright boys from the ninety percent who were not given jobs by Aramco or didn't want them, and take them to Moscow for briefing. When they come back and describe capitalism in Marxist-Leninist terms, the ninety percent will nod their heads in approval and say: "We saw it with our own eyes right here in Saudi Arabia."

There are other important factors of which space forbids more than mere mention.

Politically, the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America aspire to independence, nationhood. Although our own history leads Americans to sympathize with this aspiration, other considerations prevent this country from really getting back of the popular drive toward nationalism. Our alliance in NATO with France, for example, affects our policy in North Africa. Moreover, the kind of nationalism the under-developed countries want is the kind that goes with the economic revolution I have spoken of, and this we regard as dangerous to our interests. So one of the most significant and ominous developments of the post-Geneva period is the stepping up by the Communists of the movement to combine forces with the nationalist party or parties in one country after another.

It is necessary, too, to mention the explosive factor suggested by the word "color." Some of the things happening in the South today add more to Soviet power than the H-bombs they are stockpiling, and our H-bombs cannot offset the support of which we are thus deprived.

Let us remind ourselves also that the peace talk that comes from behind the Soviet stockpile still appeals to vast multitudes in many parts of the world as more genuine or plausible than peace talk which comes from behind the American stockpile. The effect of some of the Eisenhower statements at Geneva in July, which persuaded many of the peaceful intentions of Washington, had worn off to an appreciable extent by the end of the year.

Breathing Spell

Where are we then as a New Year begins? There is still a kind of breathing spell. We are not at the very edge of the precipice of general nuclear war, but on the other hand, the military situation has not been altered in any essential way: the armaments race continues, and the "balance of terror" is no assurance that the danger of war in our time, even nuclear war, has been removed.

On the politico-economic front, the American economy and the power position of the United

States are insistently challenged by the Communist economy and the Communist power bloc. Despite the remarkable development of the American economy, which serves to rule out a serious internal crisis in the near future, it is faced with a mounting threat as more people are drawn into the Communist economy, more territory is shut to capitalist trade and expansion, and access to raw materials, including strategic ones, becomes costly and difficult, or impossible. Unless changes are affected that no politicians or political party in this country contemplate today, war —risking survival for the sake of survival—will one day seem inevitable. The fact, which Chester Bowles pointed out recently,[3] that of the nearly $40 billion appropriated for the foreign relations of this nation, the Pentagon controls the spending of 99 percent, does not represent a miscalculation or personal blunder on someone's part. It is the way the American politico-economic system operates.

Long-Range Factors

Let me comment briefly on two long-range factors that, in the opinion of some observers, may prevent a major catastrophe if we can manage to maintain the precarious atomic balance for a considerable period.

One of these factors is the possibility that, with the lifting of the Iron Curtain, the character of the Communist regimes may gradually undergo great changes: the revolutionary passion die out, democratic practices be introduced, and so on. I certainly do not think that the situation in the Communist countries is a static one, but I do not know of any competent observer who thinks that such changes as may occur in the next couple of decades will substantially offset the other factors in the Communist power drive, some of which have been mentioned.

The chiefs of the Communist regimes are riding high and the changes needed to get them to abandon their course are vast, exactly as in the case of the United States.

What, then, of the possibilities opened up by the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the basic relaxation that might come from the fact that energy, food, all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life would become available to human beings and the whole focus and character of life on earth so vastly altered that today's conflicts and the behavior patterns of nations would become simply irrelevant?

There are really two questions involved here. One is the factual one as to whether atomic energy developments will occur with great rapidity or more slowly so as to exclude the sort of quick revolution just mentioned. On this factual point the scientists are divided. The other question is whether vast increments in

[3] *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 27, 1955.

power resources and material goods would be accompanied by sane and peaceful changes in economic and political structures and by improvements in human attitudes that would eliminate the danger of war. Barring something like a spiritual revival, this is highly problematical. So far as the top scientists are concerned, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, *their* meeting in Geneva has clearly not resulted in any withdrawal or slackening of their efforts in the atomic and biological weapons field.

Contact with Nonpacifists

In the strictly political sphere the best hope—and the point at which it seems to me important for pacifists to establish contact with nonpacifist radicals and ideals—still seems to me to lie in the possibility that the nations in between the two atomically armed Leviathans, and especially those not already firmly tied to one or the other, should develop a "Third Camp." This would not and could not be a Third Force of a military character, but would generate a different kind of power and would seek to build a way of life different from both communism and capitalism. Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon pointed in this direction at Bandung when he suggested that the very "defenselessness" of most of the nations represented there was a source of strength and might enable them to serve as "mediators" in the dispute between the giants of communism and anti-communism.

There is, I think, no doubt that the existence of the "in between" nations and the fact that they have made it clear that neither side could count on them as "loyal" allies in an atomic war contributed to the present *detente*. In the interest of sobriety, however, it must be added that this Third Camp is far from effective in organization or even in clarity about its vocation, and that the polarization of power that has been the major post-war political problem, the immense pull of one or another of the Leviathans on the other countries, has recently manifested itself again in serious fashion. This is reflected in the fact that, whereas for ten years the UN was largely dominated by a majority led by the United States, there may soon emerge a Communist-Asian-African (possibly Latin America included) bloc that would constitute a powerful majority on many questions.

Finally, therefore, the argument for frankly recognizing that, even from a military or "practical" point of view, the military-power string is played out and that the wise political course for the nation is to try a thoroughgoing pacifist program, is greatly strengthened. The case for this approach has recently been competently stated in the pamphlet, *Speak Truth To Power*. A lot of people might well devote a lot of time in 1956 to studying and spreading its message.

...report from Dixie

t's the area of challenge or the FOR member; it's he Southland as seen by our field worker in Tennessee.

by Robert L. Cannon

"IT'S A great time to be alive!" Harry Emerson Fosdick once aid.

This phrase applies in a unique ense to living in the South after hat famous May 17th decision of he "nine old men." The following reatment of the racial scene is not rom the pen of an expert and it is n no sense exhaustive. Also—beause of space limitations—I am eing highly selective at the risk f being unfair to the total picture.

School integration. This is the urning issue, but it is not confined ust to the integration of schools. AACP leaders in Nashville are nsisting that the Supreme Court iandate apply to other areas as ell. A case is already pending ver use of the Cumberland Golf ourse in Nashville. Meanwhile, iany school boards throughout the outh are "dragging their feet." Vhile the argument for time to make "necessary adjustments" is understandable, there is a clear determination on the part of many people to resist integration. Georgia, for example, in one unusually resentful mood, passed a bill automatically disqualifying any public school teacher who held membership in or sympathies with the NAACP. (This bill was later suspended.)

The pro side of the ledger is in areas such as parts of Texas and West Virginia, in which integration has taken place without "incident."

Klanism. Occasionally one reads of Klan members meeting under some trees in the country. One such meeting was held last April in Macon County, Tennessee. The meetings are small, however, and do not usually attract newspaper attention. Although some Southerners may think wistfully of a re-

turn to the sheet-wearing days of the '20's the reappearance of the Klan shows itself more significantly in the appearance of a host of new organizations which have been popping up all over the Southland. In Louisiana, one group is called *Southern Gentlemen;* the other is the *Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.* Going on to Tennessee, we meet *White America, Inc.* and the *Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government,* while in North Carolina, it's the *Patriots of North Carolina.* In Virginia, the name is the *Virginia League.* All of these organizations have one purpose in mind—to defend the citadel of White Supremacy.

Citizens' Councils

A movement which deserves special mention is the "Association of Citizens' Councils." Essentially, they are Ku Klux Klan wolves in sheep's clothing. Instead of the nightie boys of yesterday, they recruit respectable people—bankers, lawyers, doctors, preachers. The Associations vow to refrain from the use of violence. Segregation is to be preserved quietly and "with respect." Although the movement has a small estimated membership of 60,000 with headquarters in Winona, Mississippi, the Citizens' Councils Association claims separate and "autonomous" groups in Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. In Texas, a Citizens' Council group recently received a charter from the state.

The activities in all these groups reflect in a telling way the new forms of Klanism. The brusque, raucous fellows with their strange costumes, secret meetings, and weird rituals are now smiling businessmen who are well-dressed and respectable and openly attend "town meetings" to discuss the "maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquillity. . . ."

New Methods

The terroristic night riding which may have ended in a brutal lynching is supplanted by the lie—the slander of reputation — or the deadly squeeze of the economic boycott. To an outsider, these moves to preserve the "Southern way of life" may seem watered down, but it is precisely in this type of activity that these groups represent a force which cannot be underestimated.

A significant establishment on the other side of the racial scene, however, is the Southern Education Reporting Service. This independent, objective agency established by a Ford Foundation grant gives factual, state-by-state news of progress in Southern school integration. The directing board is made up of a group of liberal Southern newspaper editors and leaders. Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* is chairman. With the help of correspondents from major newspapers in the South, SERS issues from Nashville an invaluable monthly report entitled *Southern School News.*

Memphis, a city highly resistant to change, has formed a group—Integration Service—under the inspiration and direction of Margaret McCulloch, an FOR member. Its purpose is to assist in a strictly educational manner anyone in the Memphis area who wishes to deal constructively with the problem

of integration. This group is enthusiastically engaged in such activities as supplying basic reading lists to educators and librarians, and assisting in the establishment of some ten studies on school integration to be held in the Memphis area.

FOR Witness

This admittedly brief analysis of the Southern scene raises the general question—what are the prospects for FOR witness in the South? A message of reconciliation in Dixie is today a real challenge to the FOR in the South and the race issue will continue to be a major concern. The larger purpose and scope of the FOR, however, must always be kept in mind. Despite the overshadowing problem of race, the broader issues of militarism and the glaring threat of a nuclear war are as tragically pressing in the South as in any other part of the country. In this sense the FOR can make a valuable contribution.

One such spot is in the general area of helping people to broaden their international outlook. Provincialism is conspicuous here. Some sections still fight the Civil War. In New Orleans, for example, an annual celebration commemorates the forced exodus of the infamous "carpetbaggers" from Louisiana. Yet people often see their own problems in a refreshing light when they are asked to face larger problems—the feeding of hungry children, or participation in the international exchange of students. At least three FOR members in the Mid-South are engaged in the latter project and receive enthusiastic support from people in their communities.

The FOR can also work through the churches. We are on the upper curve of the "Bible Belt," and religion is important here. The problem, however, is that religion is largely confined to a Gospel of personal salvation, a gospel repeatedly stimulated by religious revivals. The irony is that with so much religion floating around there is still an amazing dearth of social consciousness. Yet the very popularity of religion in the South is an opening wedge. An added hope in this respect are the young seminary students, many of whom are eager to awaken the churches to a sense of social responsibility. It is with these students that the FOR can work creatively.

The Equilibrium

A sensitive person in this work should keep in mind the fact that he is working in a region heavily burdened with problems. His job, then, can be one of helping to maintain a healthy tension between the important problems facing the South and the larger issues with which an organization like the FOR is concerned. A crucial part of an FOR witness here is the establishment in strategic areas of active FOR groups. Although the work of organizing these groups in centers like Memphis and Louisville is still in an early stage, it is nevertheless proceeding along the areas of race relations, a broadened outlook on world issues, and the bringing of the churches to a "new" position. In all this there is encouraging support from members and friends. They desire not only to find creative ways of coping with race hatred, but with finding alternatives to violence in building a better social order.

ONE SOLDIER TO ANOTHER

by
Uri Avnery

From an Israeli soldier's bed, comes a messag of particular significance now that the Middl East is again piling up arms, whether given b Russia or the West, for war.

It was a quiet, cloudless morning in December, 1948. An Egyptian private crouching in a trench near Iraq Almanshieh was bored. Then he saw an Israeli soldier approaching. He pulled the trigger on his Vickers and sent a volley of armor-penetrating bullets in the enemy's direction. The Egyptian was pleased to see the other soldier drop to the ground.

The other soldier, the Israeli, was I.

I was never angry with that Egyptian. He did as he was ordered, probably as I would have done. But he gave me plenty of time to think.

For two weeks I neither ate nor drank, nor could I sleep. After continuous service at the front for almost a year, my stay in hospital gave me my first opportunity to ask myself a few questions. One of them was, "Why did that Egyptian shoot at me, and why would I have shot at him, had I been crouching and he approaching?"

My comrades and I volunteered for service because our country had been invaded. But there remained the question, "Why were we invaded? Were the Hebrews and Arabs fated to be enemies?"

I saw, I heard and smelled my wounded comrades, dying and mutilated, at the hospital. I thought about our enemies, dying in other hospitals. I thought about what was common to both sides. Both are

sons of the same region. Both are heirs to the same ancient civilization of the Semitic world, the civilization of Sumer and Assyria, of Isaiah, Jesus and Mohammed. Both seek the same aim in their lives: peace and prosperity, independence and productiveness.

And yet we fought and killed one another. Why?

The Return

About two generations ago members of the persecuted Jewish community in Europe put their faith in a new ideal—a return to Palestine to found a new society. It was a beautiful and noble ideal. But when the Jews came to Palestine the Arabs regarded them as foreign invaders, the bearers of a new form of European imperialism. The Jews did not always understand the Arabs and built up their exclusive "national home," in which there was little room for Gentiles.

It would be silly to look for the culprit, but it is a historic truth that the Arab-Jewish war did not break out in 1947. It broke out when the first Jewish immigrant stepped on the soil of Palestine and met the first Arab.

Mutual Need

But the Jew and the Arab need each other. Their national aspirations have never been really opposed to each other. Contact with the dynamic Jews can give the Arabs an impulse to progress. The Jews can give the Arabs some of the thousands of technicians, teachers and physicians required in the Levant for real social advances.

The Jews, on the other hand, need close contact with the Arab nations so that together they may develop a modern economy that will support an industrial society. They need the Arabs so that they may escape the fate of a small nation in a small country, the fate of a new Ghetto.

Is it too late now?

The Palestine War left a legacy of hate. The vanquished fear intentions of further expansion on the part of the victors, and the victors fear a desire for revenge on the part of the vanquished.

But the war also left a generation of front-line soldiers on both sides of the border. We, the soldiers, know what war is, and therefore we should prevent its recurrence. We cannot do it without mutual encouragement.

Ideal Not Easy

We can do it only if we break loose from narrow nationalistic conceptions of bygone ages, if we understand that true nationalism is that which extends its hands to sons of other nations and accommodates their aspirations. We must rediscover what is common to Hebrews and Arabs—the glorious history of our common fatherland, the close relationship of our races and languages, our common desire to live in freedom—and pave a new way for the great region.

All that is good, all that is beautiful, all that is noble in our world points toward a global government, under which each nation will be free to contribute its culture and to develop its spiritual values. This ideal will not be easily achieved. But in the meantime every one of us can contribute his might, and the sum of our contributions totals up to closer relations among the nations in that particular region where we are fated to live.

To us, Jews and Arabs, this contribution means: fusion of the region in which Semitic languages are spoken, from the Nile to the Tigris, in a confederation of nations which will assure freedom to all its members, and which will be formed not by coercion and subjugation but by free cooperation.

There is one way leading to a mighty creation, and there is the other, leading to new mass graves. A soldier who has tasted war will not find the choice difficult.

Reprinted from *Land Reborn* by permission.

Aubade

That is dawn, that light in the west.
brighter than lead dropping scalding on the eye,
breaking the day of silence on the nest
untenanted—and strewn from the naked tree

or atomized. Across the new white land
no bough holds any dew, or leaf, nor must
any angle arm of good make shadow; wind
must not stir the unreflecting, hanging atom dust

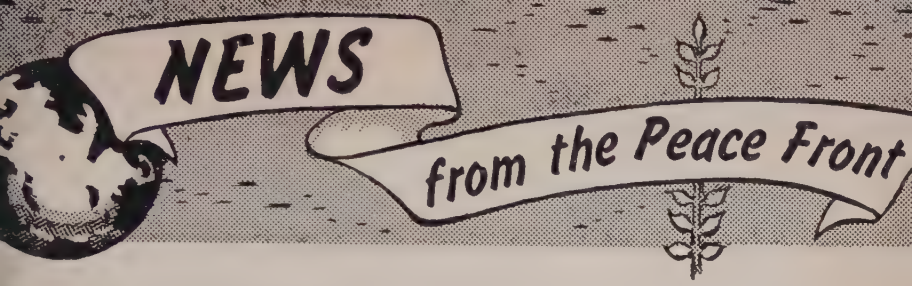
in that white land of final dawn. If we,
my loving flesh, could but prolong our night!
But no cloud crosses the coming of the light;
no birdsong shricks that instant breaking,

that day of terrible mind. In a granule, borne by
a wheel gun? shield clank? clatter of chariot wheel?
on covert pistons slipping steady lechery?
Will silver hollow whistling sky fish carry it?

Or will some draftsman, coat on a nail,
switching his steel-beaked compass, setting a thumb-screw,
drain the last black drop? What bestial hand, like mine,
will turn the last dial to the point marked TRUE—

searing the skyline with a flameless fire,
powdering all the antique ways of blood,
cauterizing bed and loin and mire
and drying dark in dawn's pure, pure still flood?

JUDSON JEROME
The Nation
(reprinted by permission)



Rabbi Hoffman Resigns Chairmanship of J.P.F.

After serving eight years as chairman of the Jewish Peace Fellowship, Rabbi Isidor B. Hoffman, resigned his position recently. An FOR member since 1946, Rabbi Hoffman will continue working for the Fellowship as Honorary chairman.

In reviewing his experience with the JPF, Rabbi Hoffman noted the cooperation of the Fellowship with other pacifist organizations, and its work in counseling conscientious objectors, appearance before draft boards etc. His successor is Miss Jane Evans, Executive Director of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

Court Rules COs Must be "Religious"

The United States Supreme Court held that Congress is not violating the Constitution when it requires COs to believe in a Supreme Being in order to qualify for exemption from combat duty.

The court refused the appeal by Vern George Davidson of Berkeley, California, who argued that Congress violated the First Amendment by prescribing the kind of religious validity of claims to conscientious objection.

Davidson said that he was opposed to war by virtue of religious training and belief but did not believe in a Supreme Being as defined in the Selective Service Act. The section of the Selective Service Act maintains that the "individual's belief in a relationship in a Supreme Being . . . does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a purely personal moral code."

Muriel Lester Set For Eighth World Tour

Muriel Lester of London has started on another world tour which will bring her to the United States from March 1 to May 8, 1956. She will have been the guest of the Government of Pakistan in October, have spent November in India, next visited Ceylon and then sojourned in Indonesia from Dec. 15 to Feb. 23. Her program in Indonesia is being arranged by Winburn Thomas, Field Administrator of the Council of Churches of Indonesia and an FOR member.

Flying the Pacific with stops for a few days in Manila and Honolulu, she expects to land in San Francisco February 29, and work eastward across the United States, limiting her program to two public addresses a week and leadership of two-day retreats on the spiritual life. Anyone interested in engaging her services should write to John Nevin Sayre, 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.

Friends, ACLU, Open Fire On Penn Sedition Law

The Friends Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union opened fire in November on the 1919 Pennsylvania Sedition Law.

When the Pennsylvania Attorney General appealed a state court's decision to reverse the conviction of Steve Nelson, Pittsburgh labor leader, both groups filed "friend of the court" briefs supporting the defendant. The state high court acted on the ground that the state law had been suspended by the enactment of Federal legislation in the field.

The Quaker brief before the United States Supreme Court argued that "no man should be prosecuted for advocacy of religious or political ideas nor be condemned for mere associations . . . freedom to speak and freedom to hear, freedom to write and freedom to read, freedom to associate and to travel . . . are also necessary means to a vital, functioning democracy."

Chairman of the Friends Committee, A. Burns Chalmers, told reporters that sedition laws in 37 other states would be affected by the Supreme Court's ruling. Already people have been investigated or indicted under sedition statutes in four additional states, he said. He added that at least seven indictments involved questions of racial segregation.

In its argument, the American Civil Liberties Union told the court that the Smith Act had pre-empted the field. To allow states to prosecute seditious activity "would permit the individual district attorneys of the sixty-seven counties of Pennsylvania to institute individual prosecutions throughout the state against all those who might be inclined to assert a controversial or unpopular doctrine. . . . It cannot be overlooked that federal government agencies are better equipped to cope with the problem than their local counterparts."

Mary McDowell Is Dead at 79

Mary McDowell, the valiant Quaker peace worker who was once dismissed from her teaching post in the New York city public school system because of her devotion to pacifism, died December 5. Miss McDowell was 79 years old. She had been a member of the FOR since 1917.

A graduate of Swarthmore College, Miss McDowell was teaching Latin at Manual Training High School in Brooklyn when the United States entered World War I. In 1918, she was dismissed from the school system because she refused to sign unqualifiedly a loyalty pledge. She insisted that her religious principles prevented her from taking part conscientiously in war activities. Although it was brought out that she had contributed more than one-fifth of her income to charities and was a member of the Society of Friends and believed forthrightly that war was "immoral and unchristian," she was not reinstated as a teacher until 1923.

Her persistent pacifism manifested itself again in 1937, when as chairman of the Quakers' Peace and Social Order Committee, she was instrumental in having the New York Yearly meeting of the Society of Friends take a strongly pacifist stand.

CD Trial Held: Decision Deferred

Magistrate Hyman Bushel on December 22 found the Civil Defense demonstrators guilty, and suspended sentence. Plans are being made to appeal the verdict.

The trial of twenty pacifists for refusing to take shelter during the mock air-raid drill last June 15 finally was held, after several postponements, in the New York court of Magistrate Hyman Bushel on November 16. Seven other defendants previously had pled guilty.

At the conclusion of the one-day hearing, Magistrate Bushel postponed his decision, and the sentencing of those who had already entered guilty pleas, until December 5, in order to give defense attorneys opportunity to submit briefs on constitutional issues involved. Subsequently this date was postponed to December 22.

Magistrate Bushel has an unorthodox approach to the bench once characterized by a New York editorial as a "total disdain for the law he is sworn to uphold." In the civil defense trial Bushel interrupted counsel and witnesses frequently, sustained objections of the prosecution before they were made, and interpolated salty comments of his own on the testimony, besides excluding all testimony not bearing directly on the question of whether defendants had or had not taken shelter.

A. J. Muste, executive secretary emeritus of the FOR, and Kent Larrabee, New York regional secretary, were among twelve FOR members among the defendants.

Thirty-nine Attend Council Meetings

[*Ed. Note—Meetings of the National Council were held after the regular closing date for this issue of* FELLOWSHIP. *For this reason, this report is necessarily brief.*]

Well- attended meetings of the FOR National Council were held December 8 and 9 at the Broadway Congregational Church in New York City. Thirty-nine members from 13 states were present at the sessions, which were presided over by Dr. Charles R. Lawrence, national chairman.

The Council heard reports of staff activity, including a current attempt to establish reconciliation between the races in a critical Southern situation; and reports on finances and membership, youth plans, audio-visual developments, and various other matters.

It discussed, amended, and eventually adopted statements on German rearmament, capital punishment, India, and the Till and DeLaine cases.

Biggest discussion of the sessions came on the recommendations of the Personnel Committee that the "equalized" salary scale be modified. The Committee, reporting on a previous Council directive to examine the organization's salary structure and make recommendations on it, argued that varied responsibilities and the experience required for different jobs would make it difficult or impossible to replace key personnel on the present basis.

The Council's final decision was to accept the Committee's recommendation in regard to non-executive staff, but to retain the equalized

scale for executives. Non-executive starting salaries, all for unmarried persons with no dependents, were lifted from a straight $2500 to a range of from $2500 to $3000. Starting salary for married executives was lifted from $4000 to $4500. Referred back to the Personnel Committee was the question of a starting salary for non-married executives or semi-executives. Allowances for dependent children were continued at $600 for the first child and $400 each for second and third. An annual increment of $75 for both executive and non-executive personnel for eight years of service was continued, plus a biennial addition for married executives of $250 for the next eight years.

Hutterites Fight To Exist

The nonviolent Hutterian Brethren are prepared to do battle for survival of their communal existence in South Dakota.

Counsel for one of the colonies has prepared briefs contending the 1955 state law prohibiting expansion of the colonies is unconstitutional. The act prohibits the forming of new colonies, but does not eliminate the fifteen present colonies with about 1,600 people.

Background:

On August 19, the Spink Hutterian society purchased an eighty-acre tract of land from Albert Wipf, a farmer. On September 8, Spink County State's Attorney W. G. Dunker filed a suit charging that the colony had violated the law. Max Royhl and Charles Lacey, attorneys for the sect, filed an answer asking the circuit court to dismiss the suit on constitutional grounds. It's now up to the circuit court to decide whether or not to dismiss the state's action. Regardless of that decision the case will undoubtedly go to the Supreme Court.

Mrs. Rosa Page Welch of Chicago, Illinois—an FOR member since 1941—was elected to serve a three-year term as a vice-president of United Church Women at its Seventh National Assembly held in November at Cleveland. At the same conference, another FOR member completed her term as national president of the largest Protestant women's organization in the United States. She is Mrs. James D. Wyker, who has been president of UCW since 1950.

Want To Work for Peace?

There are three jobs open on the staff of the F.O.R.

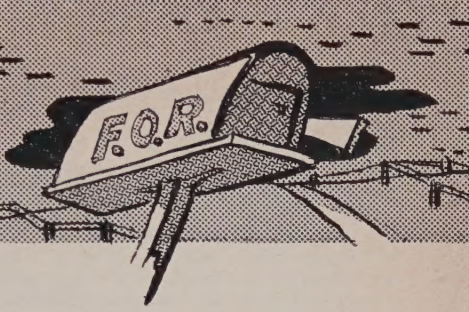
(1) Regional Secretary—Handle regional office; organize local groups; speak at colleges, churches, etc.

(2) Editorial assistant. Should have experience in copy-editing, proofreading, layout. In national office.

(3) Secretary to national executive. Should have administrative and organizing experience, as well as shorthand, typing, etc.

Write fully to Box A, Fellowship.

LETTERS



A Basis for Understanding

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

One of the false ideas that lead to poor relations between nations, is that people of one country must disparage the efforts and achievements of those living in a rival country. Hence, it has become considered disloyal for Americans to praise anything in the socialist countries. We cannot, for instance, thrill at the advances made in science in the Soviet Union, or praise the fact that they have raised themselves from an illiterate nation to a place where even the poor can go to college. We cannot exclaim over their fine libraries, which are among the best in the world, nor admire their modern buildings which have arisen out of the wartime rubble, or be happy over the electrification of the whole countryside. . . . We cannot even stand in awe before their huge dams and reclamation projects. And we cannot rejoice that the poor in China no longer feel it necessary to sell their daughters into prostitution so that the rest of their family may live.

On the other hand, those who repeat every bit of vicious gossip they hear about these countries or their people are given a pat on the back and praised as patriots. . . . Such tales told about another country and its people tend to stir up the kind of hatred and misunderstanding that leads directly to war, in which millions will suffer and die. If such a war does come, the people who have helped lay its groundwork by spreading vicious gossip must realize that their hands are not clean of blood. They who sow to the wind cannot escape responsibility for the whirlwind, which is its inevitable consequence.

ZELA PARGEON
Astoria, Oregon

Too Much Sarcasm?

The Ediors,
FELLOWSHIP:

One of the cardinal points of the pacifist view is to respect one's enemy while disagreeing with him. Let us use this principle in writing and speaking about those who favor military methods. Forthright criticism is essential and proper, but sarcasm is wrong. FELLOWSHIP suffers from too much use of the sarcastic approach.

WILLIAM T. SCOTT
Worthington, Mass.

A Grass Roots Project

The Ediors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The Lansing, FOR Displaced Persons Fund was started April 7, 1949, when our local FOR group decided to try to see what we could do to bring some displaced persons to Lansing. Since then the total amount contributed has been instrumental in bringing four families to the United States. The first two of those families have themselves been instrumental in bringing a number of others over.

JOHN BRATTIN
Lansing, Mich.

On Russian Visit

The Ediors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Will the recent visits of Russian specialists in America be helpful to both countries? The "Construction experts . . . showed interest" in the structures they saw at Boston. The journalists were well received on the Stanford University campus, although in Los Angeles pickets paraded in front of the hotel where they were staying.

The Americans who were friendly toward the visiting Russians rose above the instigated hate that cast a gloom over our land. The Iowa girls who "showed" a member of the Russian farm delegation how to "eat" watermelon at a picnic for the delegates, contributed much toward conciliation between the individuals and the nations. Doubtless, these sojourners will have their former conclusions verified: that a profit economy fails to solve the basic material problems of everyone; that it tends toward monopoly by the few at the expense of the many. We hope, however, that they visited some of the co-op markets across the United States and saw a friendly, unifying movement that points to the eventual elimination of the embroiling rivalries in trade and the hostile political isms of "right" and "left."

LOUIS OBED RENNE
Menlo Park, Cal.

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